

Northeast Historical Archaeology

Volume 11

Article 3

1982

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Recommended Citation

Baugher, Sherene (1982) "Hoboken Hollow: A 19th Century Factory Workers' Housing Site," *Northeast Historical Archaeology*: Vol. 11, Article 3.

<https://doi.org/10.22191/neha/vol11/iss1/3> Available at: <http://orb.binghamton.edu/neha/vol11/iss1/3>

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Cover Page Footnote

I wish to thank the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy for funding the fieldwork at Hoboken Hollow and to faculty members Dr. Shirley Gorenstein and Mary Ivey for their encouragement during the fieldwork. Appreciation is extended to the R.P.I. graduate students in anthropology (1978-1980) who were hardworking and thorough in the field. And special thanks goes to the fieldclass in 1980 who volunteered many long and tedious hours to complete the laboratory classifications. Former graduate assistants Thomas McCarthy, Margaret Kelly, and Barbara Orlando provided valuable assistance in the field, lab, and archives. I am grateful to Olga Szabo for drafting the maps and to Len Tantillo for lending his drawing of Hoboken Row Houses. For help in typing the drafts of this article, I wish to thank Ellen Day Hudson. And lastly, I am indebted to historian Dr. Robert W. Venables for his valuable suggestions and comments on the drafts of this article.

Hoboken Hollow: A 19th Century Factory Workers' Housing Site

by SHERENE BAUGHER

INTRODUCTION

Industrial developments in the 19th century transformed America from an agrarian to an industrial economy. This transition affected many facets of American life. Factories were built throughout the Northeast on rivers and streams where water power could be utilized. These same waterways often provided transportation for both the factories' raw materials and for their finished goods, as well as a route for the workers who flocked to the cities. Urban centers developed or expanded along these water routes which soon were supplemented by roads, canals and railroads. Along these routes and into these

cities poured an expanding industrial labor class, and because the American farm population was insufficient in numbers to meet the factories' needs, immigrants from Europe added an essential dynamic element to the evolving industrial American scene. The site discussed in this paper, Hoboken Hollow, is located in Troy, New York, a site of 19th and early 20th century factory worker housing. These structures housed English, Irish and German families from 1853-1929.

Located along the Hudson River, Troy utilized the water power from two streams, the Poestenkill and Wyantskill, to operate a number of its factories. Troy was dominated by two major industries—iron and textiles. The major social, political and economic forces that shaped 19th century America were present in Troy. Issues such as depressions, unemployment and immigrants' adaptation to American society were all part of the fabric of the United States' transformation into a major industrial nation. Using material

ALBANY AND TROY'S 19th CENTURY TRADE NETWORKS

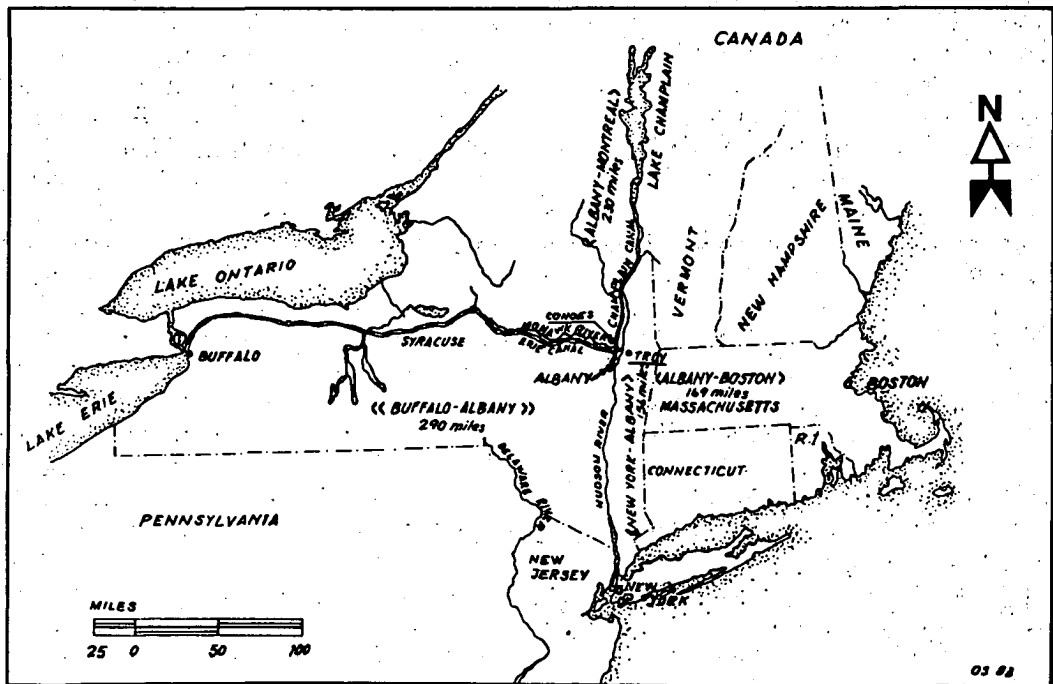


Figure 1. In the nineteenth century Troy was trading with a variety of towns and cities throughout the Northeast. The Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, the Champlain and Erie Canals and railroad lines to Boston and to western New York provided a broad transportation network for Troy.

from Troy, the social and economic dynamics of the immigrant experience can be studied from an archaeological perspective.

Patterns of Ethnicity

In the last ten years an increasing number of historians and historical archaeologists have studied patterns of ethnicity in urban and rural settings. Carol Groneman Pericone (1973) notes that 20th century studies of 19th century ethnic groups often relied on articles written about these immigrants by 19th century social workers, ministers and newspapermen. Because these accounts were written by people from different social and ethnic backgrounds, they were biased. Pericone's 1973 analysis of Irish immigrants in Manhattan in the mid-nineteenth century used public documents (including censuses), and hospital and institutional admissions, as a data base. Historical archaeologists using public documents can integrate these written materials together with excavation and artifact analysis to answer specific questions regarding social structures, family composition, social mobility, and lifestyle differences among ethnic groups. Clearly, the contribution historical archaeologists can make in understanding our past should come from analyzing, in tandem, both the documentary and the archaeological data.

Archaeological studies of ethnicity in nineteenth century America have focused on sites of Chinese Americans in the West and Afro-Americans in the East. Archaeologists have studied "Chinatowns" in Californian cities and temporary settlements of Chinese immigrant laborers in the western mining and railroad camps to try to uncover dietary and artifact patterns that can be considered uniquely Chinese (Evans, Jr. 1980 and Langenwaller II 1980). In the East, archaeologists have looked for traits unique to Black Americans. Leland Ferguson (1980) suggested that in the southeast slaves were making their own pottery that represented survivals of West African ceramic traditions. James Deetz (1977) analyzed architectural features and faunal material from homes of freed Blacks (the Parting Ways sites) near

Plymouth, Massachusetts and has suggested that both the architectural and the dietary patterns can be considered Afro-American traits.

Some archaeologists seem overly enthusiastic in their quest for patterns of ethnicity. However, studies such as John Solomon Otto's (1977 and 1980) indicate that a family's dietary patterns and choice of dinnerware may be determined more by status and economic conditions than by ethnicity. Otto's (1980) examination of an antebellum plantation on St. Simon's Island, Georgia, found similarities in the ceramic and faunal remains at the house sites of both white overseer and black slaves where he noted their marked contrast with the food habits of the planter family. Furthermore, in the studies of plantations on the islands off the coast of Georgia and Florida, geographic isolation may have also played an important role in limiting the choices of food and manufactured goods available to the overseers and slaves.

Material remains may be misinterpreted as evidence of ethnicity when in fact they may simply reflect the leveling effect of common poverty. This has been noted by Vernon Baker (1980) in his article "Black Lucy's Garden" (the habitation site of a freed Black woman in Andover, Massachusetts). Robert Schuyler (1980:2) raises the question to archaeologists studying Afro-American communities of whether traits found at their sites are "ethnically peculiar, or found across all impoverished groups in a society?" The questions raised regarding Afro-American sites should be applied to all studies of ethnicity.

In this article, the question of archaeological visibility of ethnic differences is raised. Regarding three groups with Western European backgrounds—English, Irish and German—this analysis will consider whether their adaptation to life in Troy was primarily a reflection of ethnic background or of their economic condition as members of the working class.

A brief background will be given on both Troy and the development of industrialization in the Poestenkill Gorge. The focus,

though, is on the people at Hoboken Hollow who were employed in these factories, and on the written records and material remains that they left behind. Both the documents and the artifacts will be analyzed to ascertain if there are noticable differences among the English, Irish and German families who lived in Hoboken Hollow.

Troy's History

Troy, New York, is located in Rensselaer County approximately six miles north of Albany, the state capitol (see Figure 1). Today Troy is a city of approximately 62,000 people; the city extends for about seven miles in length along the east bank of the Hudson River and is roughly two miles in width.

Because of its position near the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers, Troy was a good location for a trading post. The first European to permanently settle in Troy was Jan Barentsen Wemp in 1659 (Weise 1891:11). By 1707, Dirck Van der Heyden had established a successful settlement and after going through a series of names the community finally chose the name Troy in 1789 (Hayner 1925:133, 139, 147).

In the 18th and early 19th centuries Troy prospered as part of a trade network reaching New York City, New England, Canada and western New York. With a population of almost 2,000 in 1800, Troy evolved from a thriving 18th century town into a small city of 17,000 by 1835 (Tribadeau 1975:2). With the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 Troy had access to markets in the western hinterland (Figure 1). In 1826 the opening of the Champlain Canal provided Troy with additional raw materials, the most important being the iron mined in the Adirondack region. In the 1830s and 1840s the city started to develop railroad lines to western New York and by the 1870s built a rail line to Boston (Hayner 1925 and Weise 1891).

Nineteenth century Troy was in a prime location for industrial development. The rivers, canals and railroads provided a transportation network to bring in raw materials and to ship out the city's finished products. In addition, the Wyantskill and the

Poestenkill provided cheap water power for the factories. Like Lowell, Massachusetts, and Paterson, New Jersey, Troy became one of the Northeast's major industrial cities. Unlike many small cities, Troy was not a one company town and had a diverse economy. Two major industries (but not companies) dominated Troy: the iron industry and the textile factories. As Walkowitz (1978:19) notes, "this diversified economy provided relatively open employment, as well as more fluid social and political opportunities." Troy in its heyday attracted people from a variety of ethnic, religious and socio-economic groups. However, after the Civil War the city was the site of labor protests and the scene of dramatic strikes. In addition, during the late 19th century new iron and coal deposits were located in the midwest. Partially because of the labor issues, the midwest seemed to offer investors a more favorable economic climate and as a result, many of Troy's factories closed. By the 20th century Troy's prominence as an industrial center had ended.

Development of the Poestenkill Gorge

The Poestenkill was one of Troy's two major water courses tapped for water power (Figure 2). Beginning in Massachusetts in the Taconic range, the creek flows in a westerly direction for approximately 25 miles before it empties into the Hudson River. In the last mile before reaching the Hudson it falls 220 feet through a series of rapids and waterfalls (Youngs 1978:1). The two waterfalls in the Poestenkill Gorge are called the Mt. Ida Falls. Both the upper and lower falls were used by industries, but the upper falls with a drop of approximately 180 feet generated the most energy (Figure 3).

Water power had a long tradition in Troy. European settlers began using the Poestenkill as early as the 1660s when Jan Barentson Wemp, a Dutchman, bought land along the Poestenkill and evidently built the first mill on this creek (Waite 1974:1). Water-powered mills (mainly flour mills) existed near the lower falls beginning with the Wemp/Van Velsen mill in the 1660s and continuing until

Andrew Ruff's Sons' flour mill ceased operation in the 1930s (Youngs 1978:1).

By the late 18th century a second water power system was built half a mile upstream and just below upper Mt. Ida Falls. During the fifty years that this system existed it powered flour mills, a cotton factory and a mill which produced screws and other fasteners (Tribadeau 1975:5).

The third and most ambitious system was built by Benjamin Marshall at the upper falls. In 1840 Marshall built a 600 foot tunnel through the rock on the north side of the gorge; the tunnel started at a reservoir just above the falls and ended in his brick mill on flat land below the falls (Tribadeau 1975:11). In the basement of the mill the millrace rushed the water of the Poestenkill onto the top of a 24 foot diameter "overshot" waterwheel which powered Marshall's factory (Gemmill 1980:2). As Marshall began leasing land and water rights numerous industries developed on the north shore of the Poestenkill (Figure 3). The potential of water power brought companies to Troy and in the second half of the 19th century industry developed the most extensive use of water power on the Poestenkill. Tribadeau (1975:12) notes that in the 1860s the Poestenkill factories were producing "cloth, paper, hosiery, curry horse combs, carriage springs, fishing lines, cordage, twine, agricultural implements, yarn, carpets, knitting machines, files, bolts and rivets, turbines and water wheels." During the 20th century surviving or new industries in Troy switched to other sources of energy such as electricity generated elsewhere. The Poestenkill's last water powered system near the upper falls ceased to operate in 1962 when the Manning Paper Company closed its mill (Youngs 1978:1).

Worker Housing

As new factories went up and town expanded, homes for the workers were needed. The homes were erected primarily by the factory owners rather than independent construction companies. The most common design was known as "row housing" because the homes

LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY SITES
ON A MODERN MAP OF TROY

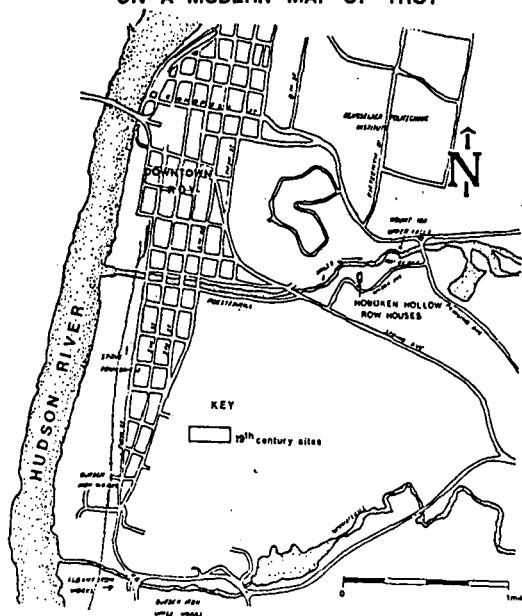


Figure 2. Nineteenth Century industrial sites including Hoboken Hollow have been located on a modern map of Troy. In 1840 Benjamin Marshall built a dam on the Poestenkill (east of Pawling Avenue) and created a reservoir, both the dam and reservoir are still intact. Major textile mills were located on the Poestenkill while the major iron works were situated closer to the Hudson River.

were attached in long two or three story buildings. Benjamin Marshall, like other industrialists of his day, built worker housing including the buildings in Hoboken Hollow.

The Hoboken Hollow rowhouses were built at the end of Marshall's life. The buildings were erected about 1852 on a plateau on the south side of the gorge (Figure 3). The structure consisted of six two-story brick attached homes (Figure 4). Brick was the common material in Troy for worker housing as were slate roofs. Footpaths connected the homes with streets on the south side of the gorge. Another path led to a small footbridge near the falls, thus giving easy access to the industries on the north side of the Poestenkill. The row is located on Barton's 1858 *Map of the City of Troy* and the 1920 *Map of the Marshall Estate*. The row survived until 1929 when the Marshall Estate had the Bloomfield Wrecking Company demolish the buildings for salvage (Marshall Estate Papers 1929).

In 1964 the Marshall Estate sold the property to Russell Sage College (Liber of Deeds 144:386-395) and the college sold the site to the city of Troy in 1976 (Liber of Deeds 1292:89-90). By the 1970s the entire Poestenkill Gorge was placed on the National Register of Historic Places as the Poestenkill Gorge Conservation Area. The 37 acre district encompasses "extant structures, ruins, power sources and archaeological sites associated with the industrial development in this area from the seventeenth through the mid-twentieth centuries" (National Register Nomination Form 1978:1). In 1979 the city of Troy started to actively develop the Poestenkill Gorge as an educational and recreational facility.

The Site

In 1976 archaeologist Ed Rutsch with students from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI) did a walk-over survey of the gorge. Their work concentrated on the north side of the gorge where they located and mapped the foundations of numerous factories. In Rutsch's (1976:3) report he noted that the foundation of a row of brick houses had been uncovered near the south side of the gorge. In addition, two privies were located to the rear of the houses.

During July and August of 1978, Baugher and five graduate students from RPI's M.A. program in Public Archaeology did some preliminary testing of the site. The dimensions of the row housing were defined and excavation units were placed in each of the six homes, and in the side yard (north side facing the stream) and along the front yard. This work revealed the row to be six two-story houses; each house measuring approximately 20 ft. x 30 ft. The building faced East, had brick walls and a slate roof, and rested upon a fieldstone foundation (see Figure 4). These findings from the preliminary excavation work were presented to the Poestenkill Gorge Development Committee in August 1978. The location of the public footpaths and trails were designed so that the archaeological site would not be disturbed. In 1979 some sta-



Figure 3. Mt. Ida Falls in the Poestenkill Gorge was the site of the most intensive use of water power on the Poestenkill. In 1840 Benjamin Marshall built a system that generated water power to his textile mills. By 1846 a number of other companies were building mills on the Poestenkill and were leasing water rights from Marshall to power textile and machine manufactories.

bilization work was done to the trail along the southern edge of the gorge but most of the path work was done in 1980-81, thus allowing time for more fieldwork.

In summers 1979 and 1980 Baugher and six RPI graduate students did additional fieldwork and completed all the preliminary washing and cataloguing of the artifacts. Shovel testing was done to determine if any outbuildings were on the site but no structures were located. Privies were located 20 feet west of the rear of the houses and the two visible ones were excavated. The hillside to the rear of the houses had eroded and the stone retaining wall had collapsed. The southernmost part of the row was completely covered with a few feet of soil that had washed down from the hill. The outline of the foundations of the three northernmost houses could be seen from the proposed new trails, and the expected increase in public access to the hollow presented the possibility of increased vandalism. Therefore the three northernmost homes with their partially-exposed walls were chosen for a more thorough examination. House number one, the northern-

most and most visible house, was completely excavated. A twenty percent sample was taken from houses two and three, an eight percent sample from houses four and six and only a four percent sample was taken from house five. The privies in the rear yard of houses one and two were completely excavated.

The original research planned for Hoboken Hollow was to analyze the artifact assemblage in order to determine if there were any differences in the material remains left by the 19th century and early 20th century English, Irish and German working class families. It is possible that these three ethnic groups with similar incomes may have chosen to spend their money in ways that reflected their ethnic background. For example, in analyzing the faunal remains one might find that one group purchased stewing meats whereas another bought meat for roasting. An analysis of the ceramics might show that the

group with stewing meat had a higher percentage of bowls whereas the other group primarily used flat tableware. Would one find, for example, that a working class family's choice of food, how it was prepared, and on what it was served would be determined primarily by their traditional ethnic food patterns or by their economic status? However, the data might also reveal marked similarities in the artifacts discarded by these English, Irish and German families. Similarities in the artifact assemblage would support that the material evidence reflects shared economic conditions more than it reflects ethnic diversity.

The Inhabitants of Hoboken Row: *A Documentary Perspective*

Before addressing specific research questions on class and ethnicity to a study of the inhabitants of Hoboken Hollow, it is



Figure 4. Artist L.F. Tantillo's view of the Hoboken Row housing was based on archaeological evidence. The original drawing was published in a Poestenkill Gorge pamphlet funded by the City of Troy Planning Dept. as part of a C.D. Block Grant from the U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development.

necessary to discuss whether this group reflects general patterns found within the Trojan working class. The primary sources used were the census records, city directories, probate records and the Marshall Estate Papers. This material was compared to Daniel Walkowitz's (1978) statistics on Troy and data on other industrial centers in the Northeast.

There was tremendous mobility in 19th century America. Reflecting this trend Troy, and Hoboken Hollow in particular, experienced continuing population flow. In commenting on this geographic mobility Walkowitz (1978:37) writes that "several historians have found that close to half the population left town during a typical decade in the mid-nineteenth century." This population movement occurred in a variety of cities. Stephan Thernstrom (1964) in a study of unskilled day laborers from Newburyport, Massachusetts (1850 to 1880), found that within 30 years almost 90 percent of this original group disappeared from the city, with the largest number leaving within the first decade. In Thernstrom's (1973) study of Boston, he found what while the workers frequently moved, many resided somewhere within the larger metropolitan area. A city like Boston, therefore, provided enough space for geographic mobility within its bounds.

Thus it is possible that Hoboken Row houses were occupied continuously from 1853 to 1929 with the average tenants' stay being from three to five years. In studying the city directories and tracing the people who had lived at Hoboken Row from 1853-1870, it was found that they were very mobile. The average stay for these families was three years. It was not unusual for families to leave Troy and return a few years later.

The boarders stayed at Hoboken for an average of 2.8 years. Of the men who boarded at Hoboken in 1860, only one remained in Troy after leaving the Hollow. It is not clear whether they were drafted into the Union army or left to avoid the draft. The boarders were more transient than the renters but both groups were mobile. Families moved from one mill job to another and relocated to their new

place of work. Hoboken's inhabitants in their transiency follow similar patterns noted above by Thernstrom and Walkowitz for working class people in the 19th century. Even after 1870, the average family lived at Hoboken for less than five years. There were, of course, a few families at Hoboken who resided there for a longer period: the Maxwells (20 years), the Ruffs (20 years), and the Burts (35 years). These families moved to Hoboken in the 1880s.

The majority (73%) of Hoboken Hollow's inhabitants worked for the iron and textile industries. The cotton mills employed 58% while 15% were iron workers. However, if we assume "laborers" were working in the textile mills, then the percentages change to only 8% for the iron industry and 65% for the textile industry. This breakdown is not surprising given the location of the row housing. Hoboken's closest industries were the textile mills on the north side of the Poestenkill, whereas the major iron foundries were located near the Hudson River (downtown Troy) or in the northern portion of the city (Figure 3). Troy's iron industry was greatly affected by the depression of 1873-1877 (Walkowitz 1978:11) and by 1875 there was a decrease in the number of tenants working in the iron industry. While the number of workers decreased after 1875, the textile factories still continued to employ many of Hoboken's residents. The Hoboken families with working children (over 15 years of age), usually had at least one family member working in the textile mills and Marshall's estate, in fact, may have given priority (for rentals) to people working in their mills.

Immigration Patterns

Throughout most of the 19th century most of the immigrants to the United States were from Northern and Western Europe. From the 1820s through the 1880s English, Irish and Germans comprised the majority of the immigrants while the major period for Eastern and Southern European immigrants was not until the late 1880s and early 20th century (Morris et al. 1976:652-656). By the

1880s the major ethnic groups in Troy were English, Irish, German, French Canadian and Scottish (Walkowitz 1978: Chapter 2). In terms of ethnicity the residents of Hoboken Hollow were English, Irish and German. These residents were a predictable mixture for Troy.

At Hoboken from 1860-1870 more than half the adults were foreign-born although most of their children were born in the United States. By 1880, 86% of the tenants were American-born, and this pattern of a high percentage of American-born residents versus immigrants continued until Hoboken's demise. The American-born tenants were first, second and perhaps third generation English, Irish and German. In looking at the surnames of these American-born and unknown residents and by coupling this information with data from the census, a pattern of residency emerges. While Hoboken was ethnically integrated throughout its history members of one ethnic group comprised a plurality of the residents at any given time. The English dominated Hoboken from 1853 through the 1860s. In the next decade a number of Irish families had moved in and now comprised most of the residents. There was a shift in the mid-1880s, with Germans, who in the past made up only a small percentage of the tenants, increasing in number until they comprised the majority of the residents by 1905. This pattern of one ethnic group predominating in a tenement or working class neighborhood in the 19th and early 20th centuries is quite typical.

Hoboken Hollow fits into general patterns of the 19th century working class in terms of both the ethnic and occupational background of its residents and their degree of geographic mobility. Since Hoboken Hollow is not an anomaly, it is an appropriate site for an investigation by an archaeologist. The dietary and household consumption pattern should represent a working class community in a northern industrial center.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a buzz word in historical archaeology. Archaeologists are seeking sites

that will reveal new data on the lifestyle of a particular group. In this quest for ethnic uniqueness, perhaps we are overlooking ethnic similarities. Religion, ideology, and generations of economic and political connections have produced bonds among certain European countries. When studying ethnic groups with similar backgrounds, such as Western Europeans, one should ask to what degree is there a shared experience based on occupation and income level. Are some of their choices regarding marriage and family affected more by economic conditions than by their national origins? For example, do Irish and German working class Catholics have many attributes in common in addition to their own sense of national pride? In searching for ethnic differences, perhaps scholars too often overlook a large percentage of traits held in common, traits that are shared by members of a socio-economic group.

In analyzing the documentary data on the residents of Hoboken Hollow, their similarities were more pronounced than were their differences. When the study of Hoboken was first undertaken, the research was aimed at analyzing the differences between these three ethnic groups. However, the analysis showed that, statistically speaking, these people had many shared traits. Similarities also showed up archaeologically and these shared patterns will be discussed later.

In the 19th and early 20th century, working class people faced common problems in dealing with low wages, long work days, rising costs of living and unemployment brought on by various depressions. Common ways of dealing with the prospects of poverty and to increase their income was to 1) live in extended families, 2) take in boarders, 3) have working wives, 4) have children working, and 5) extend the time period for the young adult to remain living at home and postpone marriage and family. The families at Hoboken had to evaluate these choices. What is interesting is the similarity in their choices.

Most families at Hoboken lived in nuclear units. Only three opted to live in extended families: one was Irish, one was German and one was American-born probably English

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AT HOBOKEN ROW

	# of House units	# of House- hold Heads	# of Families	Avg. # Nuclear Family	Un- married Children at home	# of Boarders (non-kin)	# of Boarders (relative)	Total # Adult Males	Total # Females	Total # Resi- dents
1860	6	7	4	5	20	10	1	15	5	40
1865	4	4	4	2	6	4	—	8	4	18
1870	4	4	4	3.75	14	—	—	4	5	23
1875	4	4	4	3.50	14	2	—	6	4	24
1880	5	5	7	3	18	1	7	7	8	33
1905	6	6	5	3	12	—	—	5	6	23
1915	5	7	7	2.60	8	—	2	9	6	23

(Compiled from Federal and State Censuses and City Directories for Troy, New York)

(surnames Benson/Parks). Only two women were listed as heads of a household without being in a family unit: both women were English and over sixty years old. Until 1880 families may have supplemented their incomes by taking in boarders (Table 1). Unfortunately the city directories did not list which families at Hoboken had boarders, but only give the boarder's name. In the census the boarders were usually missing but their names appear in City Directories as boarders. Pericone (1973) notes that in Manhattan women who took in boarders usually were not listed in the census as being gainfully employed. However, wives providing food and laundry services for boarders did help augment the family income. At Hoboken married women were listed in the census as "housekeeper," "keeps house," "at home" or simply were given a blank space. The terms change with each census, so in 1860 all wives were given blanks under occupation but in 1870 they were all referred to as "housekeeper." These terms were used for English, Irish and German wives. However, some of these women probably were working at home. In 1860, for example, there were five families at Hoboken and eleven boarders. Furthermore, one wonders whether some of these women were working as housekeepers in other peoples homes.

Utilizing child labor was one response to easing a family's economic burdens. Kirkland (1967:332-333) notes that 1880 was the

peak year for industries using child labor (children under 16 years old), and as late as 1900 children still constituted 13% of the wage earners in the textile industry. What is surprising is that only two children (under 16 years of age) at Hoboken were listed as working. This low utilization of child labor could suggest that the other families successfully met their financial needs by alternative strategies. Perhaps it represents that this information was being withheld from the census takers because of the child labor laws. After the Civil War the problems of child labor were taken more seriously in the Northeast and there was enforcement of this legislation by the 1880s. At Hoboken it may have been a combination of both of these explanations. A few families may have withheld this information but the other families were probably able to survive without sending their children to the factories.

In order to evaluate the differences in family size and marriage age of Hoboken residents, some creative figuring had to be done. There are not any known family histories, letters or diaries for pre-1920 Hoboken residents. The inhabitants, because of their geographic mobility, disappeared from Troy's records. Most of the residents stayed within the city for less than 10 years. Unfortunately we do not know where or when they were married. We do not know the total size of their families, only the size for the period that they were in Troy. If the women had mis-

carriages or there were children who died in infancy, this doesn't appear in the available archival documents. So in discussing the age of the parents at the birth of their first child, clearly it has to be their first surviving child that shows up in the census records. Thus estimates for family size may be smaller than the real size. The younger families probably had more children after they left Hoboken and the older families may have had a few children who married before the parents moved to Hoboken. However, even with these limitations it is possible to compare the people during their residency at Hoboken. In viewing the number of children of women over 30 years of age the breakdown was: English 3.3 children, Irish 4.3 and German 3.0. In determining the parents' age at the birth of their first surviving child there was not any significant difference among these groups. The fluctuations one finds seem to be tied more to economic conditions than to ethnicity. For example in 1870 the average age for first-time fathers was 23.75 years and 21.75 years for mothers. In 1875 (after a few years of the depression) the age was 30.5 for men and 26.5 for women. Adaptation in family life style in either postponing marriage or children was shared by these three groups. The highest number of working adult children living at home occurred in 1875 and 1880. This pattern appears in both English and Irish families. The German children living at Hoboken at this time were under 10 years of age. However, throughout Hoboken's history, the sons and daughters who were over 15 years of age from all three groups worked outside of the home.

Hoboken Hollow:

An Archaeological Perspective

Artifact assemblages from each of the six houses were separated into South's (1977) functional categories: for example, architecture, kitchen, personal items, etc. The analyses of the architectural objects and ceramics is complete, while glass, faunal and miscellaneous materials require further study.

There was a similarity in the architectural features in all six houses, but this is not unusual since the buildings were all built and owned by Benjamin Marshall (and later owned by his estate). Plaster covered the brick interior walls of all six homes. Originally the plaster had been whitewashed but over the years it was painted with various colors. Tenants may have done their own painting since there were some variations in the paint layers from one household to another. In all but the first house (the northernmost building), the brick floors were laid out in a "herring bone" pattern. The first house, however, had a brick floor in a "common bond" pattern, and for reasons yet unknown the bricks were then covered with a wooden floor. Each house had front and rear doorways, and every house had its own chimney, the tenants cooking on stoves rather than open fireplaces.

At Hoboken each entire two-and-a-half story house was rented to a family or to an individual (a man whose family later joined him or to a widow), except for 1860 when seven "heads of household" were listed as renting space in six houses, and 1915 when five of the houses were rented to seven "heads of household" (see Table 1). The area of each floor was 600 square feet, and thus each of the Hoboken tenants rented 1,200 square feet, not including a half-story attic space. In reviewing the data from the city directories, many of the tenants at Hoboken had skilled or semi-skilled jobs such as weaver, spinner or carpenter. The boarders, on the other hand, were often mill hands and laborers. Thus, the occupants were still working class people, but their income was higher than that of unskilled factory workers.

In 1978, when the archaeological study of Hoboken began, there was a serious concern that the intentional demolition of the building in 1929 may have caused the artifacts from one house to become mixed with those from another house. After the ceramics from each house were classified, the collection was analyzed to determine if there was any disturbance or mixing of the objects from one house to another. The ceramics were studied

to determine if vessels could be cross-mended with sherds from different houses. Each vessel which could be partially reconstructed was composed of sherds from the same household. Furthermore, although there were similar designs on the transfer printed white-ware, each household had its own distinct dish patterns. Thus it appears that the demolition of the building did not cause a mixture of the assemblages from one house to another.

Since it was clear that each house had its own distinct assemblage, the question was raised whether there were any major similarities among the six separate ceramic collections. Analysis revealed that within each house there were indeed similarities. All six houses contained undecorated whitewares and nineteenth century transfer printed white wares. Fragments of stoneware crocks were found in all six homes. In addition, flower pots and porcelain dishes were found in all but house number five. All of the above ceramics were found at all levels.

Within all six houses, undecorated white-ware was the dominant type, followed by transfer printed whitewares. The households at Hoboken were using stoneware rather than less expensive redware for their crocks, cooking bowls, and pans. In addition, each house had some porcelain dishes or tea sets which were more expensive than redware or undecorated whiteware. The purchase of these status wares (transfer printed white-ware, stonewares, and porcelain) indicates that the tenants in all six houses had attained a similar economic status.

In the census and city directories, English, Irish, and German tenants are listed as living at "Hoboken Row" or "Hoboken Road", but specific house numbers are not given. Without house numbers, archaeological deposits cannot be assigned to any specific families, and it would have been difficult if not impossible to study the artifact assemblages in terms of ethnic preference if the assemblages had been varied. However, the Hoboken house assemblages were almost all the same, indicating that whichever ethnic group may have

occupied a particular unit, all of them—English, Irish, and German—were purchasing similar goods. It is also possible that because most tenants resided at Hoboken Hollow for only three to five years, the artifact assemblage associated with each house represents a mixture of all three ethnic groups. In either case, the ceramic artifacts do not provide evidence of ethnicity. But ceramics do permit an interpretation of the evidence, confirmed by the documentary records, that skilled and semi-skilled workers lived there, continually buying a broad variety of ceramic housewares.

Conclusion

In examining ethnicity, the sense of a group's ethnic identity can be seen in shared social activities and social behavior: for example, which holidays they celebrate or how they deal with rites of passage such as births, weddings, and deaths. In the nineteenth century, ethnic identity is clearly indicated in people's choices of social clubs, religious affiliations, and even in their choice of taverns. This study does not intend to suggest that there were no visible differences between ethnic groups at Hoboken Hollow. Rather the question is raised whether these differences are always or necessarily visible in the material culture. The results of the ceramic study at Hoboken Hollow suggest that archaeologists should be cautious in assigning ethnic identification on the basis of the presence of particular artifacts, since these artifacts may actually be indicators of economic status, not ethnicity. This note of caution is especially important when studying the artifacts left by people from similar Western European backgrounds, as was the case at Hoboken Hollow.

The demographic and other documentary evidence of the people at Hoboken Hollow seems to reflect the archaeological remains: there was more in common than the tenants' ethnic diversity might first suggest. The renters were skilled or semi-skilled workers whose common economic status—above that of the unskilled laborers—was a more im-

portant factor than their ethnic identities when they purchased household ceramics. The documentary and the artifactual data, used in tandem, turn out actually to be in tandem, each confirming the evidence of the other.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy for funding the fieldwork at Hoboken Hollow and to faculty members Dr. Shirley Gorenstein and Mary Ivey for their encouragement during the fieldwork. Appreciation is extended to the R.P.I. graduate students in anthropology (1978-1980) who were hardworking and thorough in the field. And special thanks goes to the fieldclass in 1980 who volunteered many long and tedious hours to complete the laboratory classifications. Former graduate assistants Thomas McCarthy, Margaret Kelly and Barbara Orlando provided valuable assistance in the field, lab and archives. I am grateful to Olga Szabo for drafting the maps and to Len Tantillo for lending his drawing of Hoboken Row Houses. For help in typing the drafts of this article, I wish to thank Ellen Day Hudson. And lastly, I am indebted to historian Dr. Robert W. Venables for his valuable suggestions and comments on the drafts of this article.

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